WESTERN MARYLAND IN THE REVOLUTION

SERIES XX No. I

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES
IN
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
(Edited 1882-1901 by H. B. ADAMS.)

J. M. VINCENT
J. H. HOLLANDER W. W. WILLOUGHBY
Editors

WESTERN MARYLAND IN THE REVOLUTION

BY

BERNARD C. STEINER, PH. D.
Associate in the Johns Hopkins University
Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library

BALTIMORE
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
PUBLISHED MONTHLY
JANUARY, 1902

COPYRIGHT, 1902, BY
JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

The Lord Baltimore Press
THE FRIEDENWALD COMPANY
BALTIMORE, MD.

WESTERN MARYLAND IN THE REVOLUTION

The western frontier of Maryland advanced but little beyond the head of the tide water until the sturdy German settlers, coming down through the valleys of the Blue Ridge, settled the fertile valleys of Frederick and Washington counties. With their arrival, about the year 1735, a new and most important era opened in Maryland's history. Previously there had been no doubt concerning her alliance with the South in her economic, social and political life. This new and alien influence tended to join the province closer to Pennsylvania, and, as Western Maryland became more and more populous and as the city of Baltimore grew in commercial importance, largely through the influence of the same German settlers, there came to be a doubt in the minds of geographers whether Maryland should be called a Middle or Southern State. The life on the Western Maryland farms was far different from that on the plantations of the Chesapeake Bay, and the people of the latter had many economic, commercial and sentimental ties to England, of which the Westerners knew nothing. After landing at Philadelphia, the Germans passed down the fertile lands of Lancaster and York counties and settled all along the valleys as far as northern Georgia. So many of them came that in 1748 Western Maryland could be made a county, under the name of Frederick. In this county was contained, down to the Revolution, all Maryland west of Baltimore, Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties.

The county was not entirely inhabited by Germans. Scotch Irish had also gathered there. Scions of some of

the prominent Maryland families had followed Berkeley's star of empire to carve out new fortunes for themselves. Quakers of steady habits were dwelling in the eastern part of the region. But outside of the lower section, what is now Montgomery County, Frederick County in 1770 was predominantly German. The settlers' husbandry was varied and their fields brought forth hemp, flax, wheat, rye, oats and Indian corn. In huge country wagons the surplus crop went to Philadelphia and Baltimore. In addition to agriculture, manufactures sprung up on a small scale. They made[1] "linen goods, tow, thread; they knitted long yarn stockings; they tanned their leather and made horse collars and harness; they prepared honey, firkined butter, dried apples, apple butter," etc., and these products found their way to the port of Baltimore. Governor Eden, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth[2] said of these German settlers: "They are generally an industrious, laborious people. Many of them have acquired a considerable share of property. Their improvement of a wilderness into well-stocked plantations, the example and beneficent effects of their extraordinary industry have raised in no small degree a spirit of emulation among the other inhabitants. That they are a useful people and merit the public regard is acknowledged by all who are acquainted with them." In the county were four or five settlements which might be called towns. Georgetown, on the Potomac, was an English town, and Skipton, or Old Town, on the edge of the wilderness, was a settlement of the hardy frontiersmen, who inhabited the extreme west. Fredericktown, Elizabethtown or Hagerstown, and Sharpsburg were, however, largely German settlements. Of the first town, Eddis,[3] writing to a friend in England just before the outbreak of hostilities, states that it exceeds Annapolis

[1] Scharf's Md., II, 61.
[2] Jan. 29, 1773, Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. X, p. 694.
[3] Date of letter, Jan. 18, 1771, Letters from America, p. 98 ff.

in size and number of inhabitants, and that it possesses numerous warehouses and stores. "The buildings, though mostly of wood, have a neat and regular appearance. Provisions are cheap, plentiful and excellent. In a word, here are to be found all conveniencies and many superfluities." This prosperity he rightly attributes to the Germans, whose "habits of industry, sobriety, frugality and patience were peculiarly fitted for the laborious occupations of felling timber, clearing land and forming the first improvements." Sharpsburg was of small size and importance, but Hagerstown, to which Jonathan Hager vainly endeavored to give the name of his beloved wife, contained "more than 100 comfortable edifices"[4] and did credit to the "discernment and foresight" of its founder. The events we are about to narrate proved that one of the most faithful of their sons made no rash speech when he said that these early German settlers "brought laborious habits, virtuous lives, truthful tongues, unflinching courage, an intense longing to do their duty to their families, the community and the State."[5]

With a strong desire for freedom and with no social connection with Great Britain, they eagerly sprang forward at the call to resist the British commands. Few of them were Tories, and in all Western Maryland we find comparatively few who refused to sign the Association of the Freemen of Maryland and enroll themselves in the militia companies; unless they were Quakers, Mennonites or Dunkers, and so had religious scruples.

The very children were patriots,[6] and a nine-year-old son of Capt. William Keyser begs "that God may prosper you and your united Bretheren, in your laudable undertaking

---

[4] Letters from America, Eddis, p. 133. Hager wished it called Elizabethtown.

[5] Address of Lewis H. Steiner, Centennial Celebration in Frederick Co., p. 35.

[6] William Keyser to his father. Letter dated Hagerstown, Oct. 12, 1776. Scharf, W. Md., p. 1035.

and in the end crown you with the laurels of a complete victory over the Enemies of the inestimable Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of distressed America and hand them down inviolate to the latest posterity. My Dear Father, my greatest Grief is that I am incapable of military Service, that I might enjoy the company of so loving a father and serve my country in so glorious a cause, but, tho' absent from you, yet my constant prayer is for your Safety in the Hour of danger, your complete victory over the Enemies of the United States of America and your Safe Restoration to the government of your family."

In the struggle between Governor Eden and the popular party over the fee question, Frederick was heartily with the opponents of the proclamation, and we find an address from the freemen of the county to Charles Carroll of Carrollton,[7] thanking him for his "spirited, manly and able opposition to that illegal, arbitrary and Unconstitutional measure" of the Provincial Government.

They were no less active in passing resolutions of sympathy with Boston and of non-intercourse with Great Britain and the West Indies, until the act blocking up Boston harbor should be repealed, and "the right of taxation given up on permanent principles" and not for expediency.[8]

The county was growing so populous that it was becoming unwieldy and was preparing itself for a division into three parts. The lower part met first[9] at Hungerford's Tavern, on June 11, 1774, adopted resolutions and appointed a committee of correspondence of 10 members. The middle district, gathering at the court-house in Fredericktown, on June 20, under the chairmanship of John Hanson, followed with resolutions of stringent non-intercourse and with the appointment of a committee of corre-

[7] Signed by the county's four delegates. Scharf's Md., II, 134.
[8] Scharf's Md., II, p. 151.
[9] Henry Griffith, chairman.

spondence of 15 members.[10] The upper part of Frederick County waited until July 2, when 800 of its principal inhabitants assembled at Hagerstown,[11] made John Stull moderator, chose a committee of correspondence of 11 members and adopted resolutions, not only agreeing with what the other parts of the county had done, but also approving of the plan of a Continental Congress and promising to "adhere to any measure that may be adopted by them for the preservation of our liberties." Believing that the "surest means for continuing a people free and happy is the disusing all luxuries and depending only on their own fields and flocks for the comfortable necessities of life," they resolve to kill no sheep, to begin to manufacture their own clothing, and not to drink tea till the duty thereon be repealed. They next hang and burn Lord North in effigy and open a subscription for the poor in Boston.

A number of the "mercantile gentlemen" solemnly declared they would send off what tea they had and would purchase no more. Among these was a "certain John Parks." He, poor fellow, seems not to have kept to this agreement, and so, on November 26, was forced to "go with his hat off and lighted torches in his hands and set fire to the tea" which was "consumed to ashes amongst the acclamations of a numerous body of people." The committee furthermore declared, that "friends of liberty" ought to have "no further intercourse with Parks" and add, with delicious naivete, to the account of the matter which they send to the Maryland Gazette:[12] "N. B. The populace thought the measures adopted by the committee were inadequate to the transgression and satisfied themselves by breaking his door and windows."

The way of the Tory was indeed hard. Robert Peter, a

[10] Scharf's Md., II, 154.
[11] Scharf's Md., II, 155.
[12] Dec. 22, 1774, Ridgely's Annals of Annapolis, p. 164.

merchant of Georgetown, was one of those to whom tea was consigned as part of the cargo of the Mary and Jane,[13] which arrived in St. Mary's river in August, 1774. On hearing of this, the Committee of Correspondence met, summoned him and other consignees before them and, after hearing their statements, unanimously resolved, "that the importation of any commodity from Great Britain, liable to the payment of a duty imposed by an Act of Parliament, is in a high degree dangerous to our liberties, as it implies a full assent to the claim asserted by the British Parliament of a right to impose taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue in America." Therefore the "detestable plant" must be "sent back in the same ship." Of the meetings of these early committees of correspondence we have no manuscript record extant.

The organization of a central committee of correspondence for the whole county took place on Nov. 18, 1774, when a meeting of the qualified voters was held at the court-house. Men were then selected to attend the Provincial Convention, to carry into execution the association agreed upon by the Continental Congress and to act as a committee of correspondence.[14] This last committee was soon succeeded by an enormous Committee of Observation, chosen at the court-house on January 22, 1775. This body numbered one hundred and fifty-four members, "with full powers to prevent any infraction" of the Continental Association and "to carry the resolves of the American Congress and of the Provincial Convention into execution."[15] Any seventy-five of the committee were to be a quorum to act for the county and "any five in each of the larger districts" could "act in any matter that concerns such Division only."

Western Maryland, though unsurpassed in her patriotism and devotion to the common cause, was not anxious to

[13] Scharf, W. Md., p. 127.
[14] Twenty-eight in number.
[15] Scharf, W. Md., I, 128.

break from Great Britain. In 1774, after the first Continental Congress, the magistrates and the grand jury of Frederick County adopted addresses to the Provincial representatives in that body. These papers offer sincere acknowledgments to the delegates in the "Grand Continental Congress,"[16] and express the warmest esteem and gratitude for the regard manifested by that body for the "interests, the rights and liberties of your country." But the magistrates also praise the measures taken, because "the whole of the proceedings of that important assembly are so replete with loyalty to the king, with tenderness to the interest of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and, above all, with reverential regard to the right and liberties of America, that they cannot fail to endear you to every American and your liberty to your latest posterity." The "loyalty to the king," which was still associated with "the rights and liberties of America," was soon to be rudely dissevered from it, and Thomas Price, who signed the address, was to command a company of riflemen in the intrenchments around Boston before another year should pass.[17]

That was still in the future. Thomas Cresap, John Stull, William Beatty, William Luckett, Edward Burgess, and Upton Sheredine had as yet no difficulty in agreeing to the praise of the Continental Congress, for its "councils tempered with such filial loyalty to the Sovereign, such fraternal delicacy for the suffering of our friends in Great Britain, and, at the same time, with such unshaken zeal for the preservation of the inestimable privileges derived from our admirable Constitution." The men of Frederick were neither wavering nor craven. They believed that "the re-

[16] IV. Force's Archives, 1, 992, 993.

[17] As late as November, 1776, the minutes of the County Court Proceedings state that they were held in the "fifth year of the dominion of the Hon. Henry Harford, Esq., absolute lord and proprietary of the Province," and suits in the name of the Lord Proprietary were brought against persons accused of crime.

sults of the Congress cannot fail to give weight and influence to the cause and must moderate and relax the minds of our most poignant enemies."

The "most poignant enemy" was King George, and when the men of Frederick discovered that fact, all "filial loyalty" was lost and they girded themselves for the fray.

It will not be our purpose in this paper to discuss the achievements of Frederick men outside of the county, but the names of Thomas Johnson, first Governor of Maryland; John Hanson, President of the Continental Congress, and Richard Potts, a member of that body, may well be remembered.

The Convention of December 1, 1774, appointed $10,000 to be raised for the purchase of arms and ammunition and apportioned $1333 of that amount on Frederick County. At the time of the choice of this large committee, in January, 1775, men were selected in each hundred of the county to promote the subscriptions to this fund. These men were directed to "apply, personally or by deputy, to every freeman in their respective districts and to solicit a generous contribution." The results of this solicitation and the names of those who should refuse were to be reported to the committee of Correspondence at Fredericktown on March 23.

At the same meeting, delegates to the next Provincial Convention at Annapolis were chosen and preparations were made for the choice of a new Committee of Observation. It was felt that the present unwieldy body was not satisfactory and that "a more proper representation of the people" should be had. To accomplish this, the collectors in each hundred were "desired to give notice to voters of the time and place of a meeting to elect members to a Committee of Observation." The number of members to be chosen from each hundred should bear some relation to its population and returns were to be made when the results of the subscription were handed in. The new committee should then meet and the present one be dis-

solved. Thus far the people had largely acted on their own initiative; but, during the summer, the Provincial Convention assumed more power and the committee chosen in the autumn was elected, according to the regulations laid down by the Provincial body.

For some reason, no new committee was appointed at the time named,[18] but the old one was continued until the fall, when three committees were chosen for the three districts into which the county had been divided. It was beginning to be uncomfortable to be a Tory, and the notorious Rev. Bennet Allen, who had complained a little previously that his living was three years in arrears, was summoned before the committee in June, 1775, and made to produce for inspection one of his sermons.[19]

During the autumn of 1774 and the succeeding winter collections were taken up throughout Frederick County for the families in Boston "whose means of sustenance have been so long and so cruelly cut off by an Act of British Parliament." The people of Western Maryland, though far distant from Massachusetts, considered "the people of Boston as standing in the gap, where tyranny and oppression are ready to enter, to the destruction of the liberties of all America," and the Frederick men felt it to be "the duty of every individual in America to contribute as largely as his circumstances will admit to their support." With wide liberality, therefore, they sent over £200 currency to Massachusetts and received thanks therefor from Samuel Adams, chairman of the Boston Committee.[20]

When Thomas Johnson, of Frederick County, had nominated George Washington to be commander-in-chief of the Continental forces and he had hastened northward at the noise of Bunker Hill, the Maryland delegates in Congress wrote to John Hanson, chairman of the Committee of

[18] June 21, 1775, IV, Force's Archives, II, 1044.
[19] It was pronounced "not exceptionable."
[20] Scharf, W. Md., I, 127.

Observation in Frederick County, that two companies of expert riflemen were required to join the army at Boston and be "employed as light infantry." The committee met[21] on June 21 and resolved to raise the companies with the following officers: Captains—Michael Cresap and Thomas Price; Lieutenants—Thomas Warren, Joseph Cresap, Jr., Richard Davis, Jr., Otho Holland Williams, and John Ross Key. These companies, the first of the famous Maryland line, "armed with tomahawks and rifles and dressed in hunting shirts and moccasins," were so hardy that, setting out from Fredericktown on July 18, they arrived at Boston on the 9th of August, having made the journey of five hundred and fifty miles over rough roads in twenty-two days and without the loss of a man.

Being the first soldiers from the South to reach New England, they excited much attention.[22] These famous marksmen did good service before Boston. One of their leaders, Cresap, marched with death impending over him and lived but three months from the time they left Frederick; the other, Price, survived to make an honorable record in subsequent campaigns. The companies were incorporated in the rifle regiment commanded by Stephenson, of Virginia. After Stephenson's death, Moses Rawlings, of Old Town, became colonel, and the deeds of Rawlings' regiment need not be repeated here.[23] Mention

[21] Scharf, W. Md., I, 130. The volume of Maryland Archives containing Muster Rolls of Maryland troops, edited by Bernard C. Steiner, has lists of three companies in the Flying Camp from the Lower District on p. 73, five from the Middle District on pp. 73-74, and three from the Upper District on p. 73. Frederick recruits in 1778 are named on pp. 294, 314, 320, 324, and those in 1780 on pp. 334 and 344. Montgomery County recruits in 1780 are on p. 341, and Washington County ones on p. 346. Invalid pensioners from Western Md. are on pp. 630 and 632. Select Militia lists are on p. 652, deserters in 1778 on p. 327, and Capt. John Kerschner's company guarding prisoners at Fort Frederick is on p. 328.

[22] Vide Maryland Papers published by the Society of '76.

[23] Scharf, W. Md., I, 131.

must be made, however, of the major of the regiment, Otho Holland Williams. The convention made him colonel of the Frederick County battalion in the Flying Camp, but he felt the lesser position was more suitable for him,[24] and participated in the gallant exploits of Rawlings' regiment. Captured with his command and held prisoner for some months, he was next appointed colonel of the Sixth Regiment of the Maryland Line and led that gallant body on many a Southern battlefield.[25]

This is not the place to follow out the career of the soldiers from Western Maryland. They could always be depended on from the time they were formed into a battalion in August,[26] 1775. The names of some of their commanders come down to us through the years. Lodowick Weltner, Upton Sheredine, George Stricker, Mordecai Beall, Peter Mantz,[27] Thomas Richardson, Charles Greensbury Griffith, George Poe, Thomas Frazer, Richard Baltsell, James Ogle, John Murdock,[28] William Keiser, Richard Crabb, Lemuel Barrett, Daniel Cresap, Valentine Creager, Zadock Magruder, Greenbury Gaither, Joseph Chapelaine, Peter Hanson, and many others. German[29] companies,[30] surplus companies, a battalion for the Flying[31] Camp, riflemen for the mariners, companies for the Maryland line, militia companies to march to the aid of Washington, whatever of soldiery was needed for the common cause was gladly furnished by Western Maryland. Of the

---

[24] Md. Arch. Council of Safety, II, 104. Vide Scharf, Hist. of Md., II, 264.

[25] Osmond Tiffany's Otho Holland Williams, Md. Hist. Soc. Pub.

[26] Md. Arch. Jour. Council of Safety, I, 18.

[27] Centennial of Montgomery Co., p. 32, gives names of officers in Md. line from that county.

[28] Nine companies, nearly one-quarter of the Flying Camp, were from Frederick Co.

[29] Council of Safety, I, 253.

[30] Vide Council of Safety, II, 399.

[31] Council of Safety, II, 92 and 330. Read the quaint letter of Peter Mantz, Council of Safety, II, 185.

county militia, the chief officer was Thomas Johnson, the first governor of the new State, who with noble self-denial declined the command of the militia sent to Washington's relief. He wrote to the Council of Safety:[32] "In a matter of so much consequence, I shall frankly give my opinion at every hazard, that it is not best to let our militia go out under any provincial Brigadier. . . . None of the rest of us have seen service and I fear we are not so competent, nor will the men have the same confidence in either of us, as in one who has had experience." The Council answer that they leave it to his discretion to march or not,[33] unless Congress appoints another commander, which they hope, in order that Johnson might take his "seat in that honorable Body, where you may be of great service at present." Of such material were the officers and they commanded a body of men like Sergeant Lawrence Everheart.[34]

The resolutions of Congress, calling out the militia, were received in Frederick on the evening of December 19, 1776. The committee of the Middle District at once resolved, in language of noble firmness, "that the militia ought to equip themselves in the best manner they are able and march with all possible speed to Philadelphia and be subject to orders of the commander-in-chief there, but prudence directs that some be left behind," therefore, the field officers shall select from each battalion, those whose circumstances may render it most inconvenient to leave home, to be kept on duty as a guard and to enroll themselves under officers to be appointed by the Committee. Though zealous for the common cause, they were not negligent of the care of matters at home, and to avoid danger, directed that "every person capable of bearing

[32] Dec. 19, 1776, Council of Safety, II, 541, 556. In his letters of Dec. 22. and 24, Johnson seems to regret his declination, and roused by the urgency of the situation to long for the command.

[33] Montgomery Co. seems to have been quite slow to respond to the call. Council of Safety, II, 558.

[34] Vide Md. Papers, published by the Society of '76, p. 42.

arms and hitherto exempt from marching, for age or other infirmities, now enroll to keep guard during absence of the militia. The Committee think that from 1000 to 12,000 men can march from Frederick County, if money be sent by Congress to equip them. The Committee will do what it can, but will not have guns for more than one-fifth of the men."[35] Nothing could indicate more clearly the lack of supplies. With great speed, notice was sent to the three battalions of Washington and the two battalions of Montgomery County. On the night of the 19th, a message was sent for supplies to Congress, then sitting in Baltimore. On the 21st,[36] Congress voted $18,000 to equip the militia of Western Maryland. On the 22d,[37] the money was received by the Frederick Committee. No time had been lost, but there was still need of shoes,[38] stockings, tents or blankets. Johnson writes that the last named are especially needed and if sent, "may save a good many poor fellows." Many commissions for the officers had failed to arrive at Frederick. Johnson complained a second time of this, in a letter written on Christmas[39] eve. He had not yet received sufficient supplies, which "were never more needed, than by those who now offer to turn out." But the lack of necessaries did not deter the Frederick men from doing their duty, even in the depth of winter. Johnson thought it would be enough, if half the militia went to Washington's assistance, and that, if all should march, it would "leave the country rather naked"; but the courageous Committee wished to have all the militia march.

At the opening of the Revolution, Frederick County was growing so unwieldy that a speedy division was inevitable. The first step toward this was taken by the Convention

[35] V, Force Archives, III, 1288.
[36] V, Force Archives, III, 1603.
[37] V, Force, III, 1330. Congress highly approved of the zeal and activity of the committee.
[38] V, Force Archives, III, 1307.
[39] V, Force, III, 1395; Md. Arch., Com. of Safety, II, 540.

on August 14, 1775, in its decree that, on the second Tuesday of September, when the freemen of each county should meet and elect the Committees of Observation, Frederick's large committee of 53 men should be chosen not at one place as in other counties, but in three places.[40] The county was now divided into three districts: the Lower one,[41] corresponding with Montgomery County, should choose a delegate to Convention, a Committee of Correspondence of two members, and a Committee of Observation of seventeen. In the Middle and Upper Districts two delegates were to be chosen and an Observation Committee of eighteen. The Upper District,[42] probably from its remoteness, had no Committee of Correspondence, the Middle District had one of three members.[43] All these committees served for a year.

This subdivision of the county was not satisfactory to the frontier inhabitants, and, in response to their memorial, on January 17, 1776, the Convention voted to create a district, including all the county west of Licking river, and directed the freemen in this district to meet at Skipton[44] to choose "one discreet and sensible freeman" as a delegate and a committee of observation of 15 members. This was done and, for several months, Frederick County was divided into four parts, the Skipton District roughly corresponding to the present Allegany and Garrett counties.[45]

For some reason, however, probably because of the scattered character of its inhabitants, the Skipton District did not remain separate from the Upper District, and on August 31, 1776, the Convention gave leave to bring in an ordinance to divide Frederick into *three counties.*[46] The

[40] Md. Archives, Coun. of Safety, I, 27-29.
[41] Poll at Hungerford's.
[42] Poll at Elizabethtown (Hagerstown).
[43] Poll at Fredericktown.
[44] Old Town, Allegany Co.
[45] Proceedings of Convention, pp. 46, 114.
[46] Proceedings of Convention, p. 234.

ordinance was passed[47] on September 6, and decreed that after October 1, the Upper District should become Washington and the Lower one Montgomery County.[48] Of the record of the Committee of Observation of the Old Town or Skipton District we know nothing save that Capt. Lemuel Barrett was its chairman.

The Lower District[49] (Montgomery County) has left us but little more information as to its acts. The minute book is apparently lost, but the one action of this committee known to us is more famous than any act of the other three committees. The occasion was dramatic. Independence hung in the balance. In May, 1776, the Provincial Convention had voted that it was not expedient to break away from the mother country. Should this vote stand as the expression of the opinion of the people of Maryland? Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton said nay, and traveled from county to county to arouse the people. In this they succeeded, and in one part of the province after another, resolutions were adopted favoring action with the other colonies towards declaring independence. We shall see that the Upper District took action; the Middle District, singularly enough, seems to have held her peace; while the Lower District, through its Committee of Observation, made a bold proclamation of its views on June 17. Catching with joy at this sign of popular support, Chase wrote to John Adams on the 21st: "Read the papers and be assured Frederick speaks the sense of many counties."[50] So did she, and seven days later the province resolved to be independent. These were the resolutions which were so unanimously passed by the Com-

---

[47] Proceedings, pp. 242, 271, 344. On Oct. 11, part of Prince George's county petitioned to be annexed to Montgomery and that the county seat be Georgetown.

[48] The Middle District included part of the present Carroll Co.

[49] IV, Force Archives, III, 694, gives the list of members of the committee chosen on Sept. 12, 1775.

[50] J. Adams' Works, IX, 412.

mittee:[21] "Our sole and primary intention in appointing Delegates to meet in convention was to regulate the mode of opposition, necessary to be made by us internally against the arbitrary machinations of the British ministry, and to appoint delegates to meet our sister Colonies in Congress, to recommend such measures as, by a sense of the majority of the Colonies, would best secure the natural and inherent rights of the people." The resolutions were no less in favor of union. "What may be recommended by a majority of the Congress, equally delegated by the people of the United Colonies, we will, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, support and maintain and that every resolution of Convention, tending to separate this Province from a majority of the Colonies without the consent of the people is destructive to our interest and safety and big with public ruin."

Complaint was made that the proceedings of the Convention had been secret, and the Lower District states that "a knowledge of the conduct of the representative is the constituent's only principal and permanent security." Therefore they "claim the right of being fully informed therein, unless in the secret operations of war," and "shall ever hold the Representative amenable to that body, from which he derives his authority."

The desire for a new and permanent constitution and the distrust of the Convention caused the Committee to urge the necessity of the separation of the powers of government and to state "that, in all counties where the power to make laws and the power to enforce such laws is vested in one man or in one body of men, a tyranny is established." In fine, the Committee's theory of the government is "that all just and legal government was instituted for the ease and convenience of the people and that the people have the indubitable right to reform or abolish

[21] Jonathan Wilson, Chm.; Simon Nichols, Clk. IV, Force Archives, VI, 933.

a government, which may appear to them insufficient for the exigency of their affairs."

When men spoke thus, the final rupture from England was at hand. The Committee of Observation for the Upper District was also chosen, on September 12, 1775, and organized two days later, electing John Stull, President, and Samuel Hughes, Secretary.[53] It served until November 25, 1776, when a new committee was chosen. The second committee was composed of much the same men as the first and continued to exist until March 3, 1777, when the State Government being fully organized, the Committee "adjourned forever, Amen," as the record has it. The record book, now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, has been twice printed in part, once for patriotic purposes in 1862, edited by the Hon. J. V. L. Findlay, and again in Scharf's History of Western Maryland.[53] This Committee was more fiercely radical than the Middle District Committee, and when the Convention of the Province passed resolutions laudatory of Gov. Robert Eden, the Committee was much disturbed. On June 25, 1776, a week later than the Lower District, it unanimously resolved that those proceedings of the convention were unsatisfactory to it and that they be laid before "the good people of this district, when they meet in a battalion on Friday and Saturday next." A subcommittee was appointed to draft resolutions to be submitted to the Committee and the militia.[54] The resolutions were adopted. They recite as grievances that "the legislative, executive and judicial powers in this Province are at present exercised by the same body of men"; that "the administration of justice is confused and uncertain, places of the most important trust held by persons disaffected to the common

[53] Scharf, Hist. of Md., II, 185.

[53] Vol. I, p. 133.

[54] Resolution brought in on June 28, amended, submitted to the people, adopted by them on the 28th and 29th, and ordered to be printed.

cause of America, the transactions of the Convention carried on in a secret manner," and that while the recommendations of Continental Congress were "unregarded" and "propositions of the utmost importance were determined without consulting the people."[55] They complain of the "adulatory address presented to Governor Eden, supplicating his interposition with a people that has hitherto treated our just petitions with the greatest contempt," and state that all the above-mentioned matters have "very much alarmed the good people of this district and filled their minds with deep concern for the honor and welfare of this Province in particular and the United Colonies in general." Because of these facts they declare the "present mode of government . . . incompetent to the exigencies" of the province and "dangerous to our liberties." Being willing to "support the union of the colonies with our lives and fortunes," they wish the present convention to be dissolved and a new one immediately elected to declare independence.

The slow measures of the majority in the State still distressed the Committee in December, when they petitioned the Council of Safety to call the General Assembly immediately, "that a speedy establishment of the new government may take place for the support and good maintenance of peace and good order." Among the early acts of the committee[56] were resolutions authorizing Henry Shryock and James Chaplain to enroll companies of minute men and appointing a committee to license suits.[57] The record book shows that this committee performed its duty well and, doubtless, all the business of the courts passed under their vigilant eyes. The Association of the Freemen of Maryland was speedily given into the hands of a tried man in each hundred, who should carry it to all freemen resident in his district.

---

[55] *I. e.*, respecting independence and the seizure of Gov. Eden.
[56] Sept. 18, 1775.
[57] Oct., 1775.

As this document bound its signers to defend the patriotic cause by arms, as well as by their influence, the Quakers, Dunkers and Mennonites declined to sign it, or to muster in the militia. The Committee felt "that it is highly reasonable that every person who enjoys the benefit of their religion and protection of the laws of this free country ought to contribute, either in money or military service, towards the defence of these invaluable rights." They were of the opinion that "those who are prevented from mustering because of religious scruples would render an equivalent by paying two shillings and sixpence per week."[58] The enrollment and signing went on slowly, and, on March 4, 1776, the captains of each hundred were ordered to take an association paper to the people of their hundreds and to make record of those who refuse to sign, with their reasons for so doing. This was done, and, on April 29, the "several returns of non-enrollers and non-associators" were considered. These men were then summoned to appear on May 7 and show cause why they do not enroll and associate and "why they should not be fined and compelled to deliver up their fire arms except pistols." Already men had found it perilous to oppose the Association;[59] one[60] had been put under a guard of six men until he could be sent to the Council of Safety for trial, or would "sign the association, enroll into some company, ask pardon of this committee and give good security for his good behaviour for the future." Two other troublesome Tories,[61] who spoke "unbecoming words against the association" had been brought before the Committee, "acknowledged their fault and signed."

On the appointed day, some were excused, but the most

[58] Vide Proceedings of Convention, Dec., 1775.

[59] Nov. 11, 1775, John Swan appealed to the committee that John Shryock had aspersed his character by saying he was an enemy to America. Shryock was called in, and not substantiating his charge, Swan was honorably acquitted.

[60] March 4, 1776.

[61] March 18, 1776.

either did not appear or could not give satisfactory reasons. They were therefore ordered to pay a fine within a month and to deliver up their fire-arms, except pistols, to the persons appointed to receive them.[82] The Mennonites and German Baptists petitioned that they might give produce instead of cash for their fines and the Committee recommended this to the Convention.

From time to time we catch glimpses of contumacious persons,[83] who were accused "of expressing sentiments inimical to the liberties of America and advising Captain Keller's company to lay down their arms," or of "being an enemy to the liberty of America."[84] When the charges were proved, the penalty would consist of a severe reprimand by the chairman, a public acknowledgment of their faults, the signature of a recantation, and payment of all expenses "accruing upon their apprehension and guard during the time of their confinement." The last was an almost indispensable preliminary to a discharge.[85] The Committee did not intend that the public purse should be drawn upon for the maintenance of Tories under guard.

---

[82] Persons were appointed and full instructions given them, May 9, 1776.

[83] June 28, 1776.

[84] July 7, 1776.

[85] The especial case referred to above was that of Captain Jacob Kerr and Henry Worrel (Aug. 17, 1776). Their recantation stated that they "acknowledge to all friends of American liberty, that we have used expressions inimical to the liberties of America; that we do hereby publicly acknowledge our faults, expressing our sincere sorrow for our evil and malicious conduct and do promise, engage, and pledge our honors to conduct ourselves in a regular manner for the future; never acting, saying or doing, or, to our knowledge, suffering or permitting any thing to be said or done prejudicial or inimical to American liberty, but will, forthwith, to the utmost of our power, oppose every enemy thereof." See also the case of David Meek, Dec. 24, 1776; Christian Eversole, Dec. 18, 1776; Michael Peter, Jan. 16, 1777, Feb. 1, 1777. John Funday, charged with "speaking sentiments inimical to the United States," did so when "excessively drunk." Before and since he had spoken as a friend to the common cause. He is discharged on paying costs.

One case received somewhat different punishment.[86] The culprit failed to sign the association or deliver up his fire-arms until November 24, 1776. For this he was fined, and inasmuch as he was charged "with altering a public newspaper, by making the number of the American army, in an attack upon their right wing, appear to lose 5000 men instead of 500, he was ordered to give bond, in the penalty of £1000, to appear to answer that charge, or be sent under safe guard to the Tory Gaol in Frederick, to continue there until the meeting of the General Assembly."[87]

The Upper District had no jail of its own until that section was made a separate county. On December 22, 1776, the Committee resolved that the stone stable on Captain Hager's lot should be immediately fitted up in a good and substantial manner for the reception of the Tories. The first sheriff of the county had not yet been commissioned, but there was "no place of security in this County for confining persons disaffected to this State and the Tory Gaol in Frederick town is at present much crowded." Therefore the Committee took action at once, and a month later, when a man was brought before them charged with having lodged and secreted his son, a deserter from Captain Farnes' company, the prisoner could be ordered in safe "custody to the Tory Gaol of this County,"[88] until he shall produce that son. Two days before this action, the Committee had made a general resolve in this matter,[89] which was evidently causing trouble. "All those, who have put such of their sons, as have enrolled with any captain of the militia, out of the way or suffered them to conceal themselves from their officers, shall call them home as soon as possible and deliver them to some of their officers, or to

[86] Capt. Samuel Finley. Dec. 18, 1776, he was sent to Frederick.

[87] He should pay for support there five shillings per day to the officer of the guard and three and nine pence to each private.

[88] Jan. 21, 1777. Vide Jan. 23.

[89] Jan. 19, 1777.

this Committee, otherwise to suffer the consequences of such neglect."[70]

At least one father came before the Committee and made it appear that "he had used his utmost endeavors to apprehend his son,"[71] a deserter, "but could not possibly perform the same." He was made to give bond of £1000 to appear before the Committee, when called upon, to use "all possible means to apprehend" his son, and to deliver him if found. Other Tories received due punishment for "having damned the Congress, General Washington, and the Committee and wished success to King George and the Royal Family,"[72] or for "drinking the King's health and expressing sentiments against the good of the State."

There were two brothers,[73] who were always in hot water, and when they acknowledged that they had spoken and acted in a manner inimical to the cause,[74] they were ordered to be kept under guard, until the militia should march and then to be taken to camp. The brothers pleaded that their stock must inevitably perish for want of attention, if both of them were to be thus forcibly enlisted, and the warm-hearted Committee permitted one of them to remain. Forcible enlistment, however, is not a good way to make soldiers, and we are not surprised to find that the second brother deserted from the militia and was brought before the Committee before the month was out.[75]

The Dunkers and Mennonites were obliged to pay their fines in December, and £206, 10s were collected from this source. An opportunity was, however, given to non-combatants to avoid paying fines. The young men of these

---

[70] For instances of exemption from this resolve, see proceedings for Jan. 20, 1777.

[71] Feb. 8, 1777. [72] Feb. 22, 1777.

[73] Dec. 27, 30, 1776; Jan. 2, 1777.

[74] The Gainsbergers, Dec. 30, 1776; Jan. 2, 4 and 23, 1777. Vide Jan. 6, 1777; also Jan. 7, 9. The usual fine for non-enrolling was £10. See Jan. 11 and 17, 1777; Feb. 8, 1777.

[75] Peter Gainsberger. He was to be kept in close confinement in the Tory Gaol until the return of the militia. Vide Feb. 4, 1777.

peaceful sects were "requested to march with the militia, in order to give their assistance in intrenching and helping the sick, and all such as will turn out voluntarily agreeable to the above request shall have their fines remitted."[76]

During the winter of 1776 and 1777, Tories seem to have been much more plentiful than before and the necessity of punishing them and providing for the army in the field caused the Committee to hold almost daily meetings. Men were brought before them "charged with drinking the King's health and success to Lord and General Howe and the British army,"[77] and with saying that "the King would have the country before the middle of June next," and that "if he should be put in confinement at Elizabethtown, he valued it not, for Lord Howe would soon release him." We must remember that, at the time this was done, Washington was just gathering his forces together for his crossing of the Delaware, and the country was passing through the times that tried men's souls. This will account for the boldness of the Tories and for the activity of the Committee.[78] One man was put in custody and kept there till he should give security that he would "neither say nor do anything inimical to the United States." The next day he volunteered in the Continental service and was released from prison.

Another man published Lord Howe's declaration and other reports inimical to the United States.[79] He was put under safe guard till he produce the declaration and give bond for good behavior. Two more Tories publicly[80] said that they were determined not to march. "Go to the Tory Gaol," say the Committee, "until a proper guard can be

---

[76] Dec. 22, 24, 1776.

[77] Jan. 13; Jan. 14; Jan. 20, 1777.

[78] By vote of Jan. 3, 1777, the Tories in custody were each allowed one pound and an half of bread per day. Bread and water were thought good enough for them.

[79] Jan. 15, 1777.

[80] Jan. 17, 1777. Vide David Hillen, Jan. 14, 1777. The latter had his apprentice enlist and was excused (Jan. 15). An instance of a proxy which failed was that of Ignatius Sims, who gave in

procured to march you to your respective companies." There was no laxity in the measures of the Committee of Washington County. Neither was there undue sternness, and when deserters from Captain Evan Baker's company were brought before the Committee on February 6, 1777, and agreed to march to their companies at camp, they were allowed to do so, provided they give security to appear when called for.[81]

The raising and equipment of the militia occupied much of the Committee's attention. Minutest details received great care, and the officers were held to rigid accountability for what they received.[82] Nominations for officers of the companies and the battalions which they raised were made to the Council of Safety and to the Continental Congress. Poor and sick soldiers of the Flying Camp were provided for by the Committee,[83] and quarters for recruits and soldiers were furnished. In one instance,[84] the Committee offered to bury a poor soldier in a decent manner, at its expense, but the generosity of the citizens of Hagerstown prevented the necessity of this. When the winter campaign of 1776 and 1777 came on, with the pressing need of the Continental Army and the threatened insurrection on the Eastern Shore, the Committee ordered all militia to march, even those who were members of the Flying Camp.

Hagerstown was a busy place at this time. On December 30, 1776, the Committee sent all the militia of the county to Washington's assistance, to remain in service until March 15, unless sooner discharged. It was one of the miserable short enlistments which so distressed Wash-

---

the name of John McKee. The latter came before committee on Jan. 27, 1777, and said he turned out on Battalion Day voluntarily without agreement with Sims. Ordered that McKee march for himself and not for Sims.

[81] Vide Feb. 8, 1777. Payment of Capt. Andrew Linck's expenses pursuing deserters.

[82] *E. g.*, case of Capt. Henry Yost, Feb. 5, 1776.

[83] Jan. 1, 1777.

[84] Dec. 24, 1776; Jan. 1, 1777.

ington's heart; but it showed the patriotic mind of Washington County. The measure had been anticipated for some days and the Committee had resolved[85] that, "on the marching of the militia," those who were "well affected" and not capable of marching "shall be formed into companies with proper officers for the protection and relief of such families as shall be left without assistance, officers of the companies so formed shall divide the settlement into certain circuits, and ride around such circuits as shall be assigned them once a fortnight, make particular inquiry into the distresses of the inhabitants and order them such relief as they shall think necessary. Should their companies not be sufficient for giving such relief, they are required to apply to the Tunkers and Mennonists residing nearest to give their assistance."

Some of the recruits behaved "in a very riotous and disorderly manner" in Hagerstown, and the Committee had to tell all recruiting officers to have their men conduct themselves properly or expect a representation to Congress of their behavior. Servants, or negroes, were also ordered not to go without written permission from their masters any distance from home, while the militia were away,[86] on penalty of receiving "thirty lashes on the bare back well laid on."[87] Every measure was taken to prevent the spread of terrifying rumors.

If private property was needed for public use, it must be given. When a man received a message, requesting him to send in his small farm-wagon, immediately, and neglected to do so,[88] a guard was sent at once to fetch the wagon and three horses, or oxen, if the horses could not be found, and the owner with them, to show cause why he had treated the authority of the Committee with so much

---

[85] Dec. 22, 1776. Vide Jan. 19, 1777. All able-bodied men must march or provide a substitute.

[86] There was to be no inoculation for smallpox in the absence of the militia, Jan. 2, 1777.

[87] Jan. 11, 14, 17, 1777.

[88] Joseph Rentch, Jan. 6, 1777.

contempt. Other requisitions were on residents of the county for teams to draw cannon for Col. John Stull's battalion,[89] or for axes [90] and blankets for Col. Davies and Major Swearingen's troops, or for horses to enable Capt. Evan Baker [91] to capture members of his company "who have absconded disagreeable to orders," or [92] for blankets for Capt. Keller's company. All was to be done decently and in order. No horses were to be pressed "without authority of the Committee," nor was any guard to be entitled to pay unless they went out with written orders from the Committee and made return in writing thereto.[93] Three men complained that soldiers forcibly entered their houses and took blankets, which they could not possibly spare.[94] The Committee at once declared such proceeding "without order and tyrannical," and ordered the captain of the company to which the soldiers belonged to return the blankets. There should be no unnecessary hardship created.

Men who were late in marching with their companies [95] were ordered to give bond for £500, that they would march with the next company leaving Hagerstown, or were kept in close confinement in the Tory Gaol and then delivered to the custody of the captain of the first company going to the front. Robert and Henry Foard and Hugh Gilliland enrolled with Denton Jacques.[96] As he made no preparation to march, they went to the Committee and were told that they might enroll the company, have a rendezvous appointed, choose officers and make return of all delinquents. Clearly Jacques was unfit for his position. Let the more zealous take it.

Long after the other companies had gone,[97] Capt. Abraham Baker acknowledged that he and most of his company

---

[89] Jan. 10, 1777.

[90] Only such to be taken as can be spared and payment to be made therefor at appraised value, Jan. 20, 1777.

[91] Jan. 22, 1777. [92] Jan. 21, 1777. [93] Jan. 25, 1777.

[94] Jan. 28, 1777. Vide case of Moses Reiley, Feb. 26, 1777.

[95] Jan. 15, 1777. [96] Jan. 30, 1777. [97] Feb. 17 and 26, 1777.

had deserted, and with remarkable lenity, the Committee merely required him to give bond to appear when required, to use his utmost endeavors to bring back the other deserters, and to march with his company to re-enforce General Washington.

Many of the Committee were captains of the companies which left for the field, and so their places had to be filled. The remaining members elected men to fill the vacancies [99] and the work went on. New levies were made by the State to aid Smallwood in his task of subduing the Eastern Shore Tories. The Washington County Committee had just sent their best men to aid Washington. But "from a sincere affection for the common cause of liberty, ever willing to risk their lives and fortunes in defence thereof," they unanimously resolved [99] to "give every assistance and encouragement in their power to the speedy completing of every company under the said General's command."

The Committee had also to see that proper provision was made for the people of the county. On June 18, 1776, a resolution was passed that no person should sell salt for more than four shillings and six pence above the cost of purchase, and that each seller should produce a certificate under oath of the prime cost, if required. This rule was enforced,[100] and to it a more stringent one was added, that, if any family had more than they needed, the rest might be seized and sold for the benefit of the community. In the winter of 1777, heavy penalties were laid on any miller who should grind wheat for distilling, or any distiller

[99] Jan. 25, 1777, Isaac Cooper admitted that "he had disputed the authority of the Convention and the Committee, in adding any one member to the said Committee," in the room of any who had resigned. "He acknowledged his fault, promised a more friendly conduct for the future," paid the expense of being summoned and was discharged.

[99] Jan. 21, 1777.

[100] June 25, 1776; Jan. 16, 1777. Hides of cattle slaughtered for the militia are not to be sold out of the county.

who should distil it, and these regulations were carefully enforced.[101]

Of this active committee, which sometimes adjourned in the evening to meet at 7 a. m., we have nothing but good to record from the time when they sent to Annapolis fifty-one blankets,[102] within five days of the time requisition was made for them, to the time they broke up a gang of counterfeiters[103] of Virginia money, arrested some, prevented the rest of the "banditti" from rescuing the prisoners, and sent letters post haste to the committees of other counties, that the remaining members of the gang might be captured. A vigilant, sturdy, kind-hearted, zealous body of men,[104] they had a "sincere affection for the common cause of liberty."

The Committee of Observation for the Middle District[105] was also elected on September 12, 1775, and consisted of 17 men. Two days later, it organized by electing John Hanson, Jr. as chairman, and Archibald Boyd as clerk. We have the minute book of this committee; but not of its successor,[106] elected in the fall of 1776. This was a less radical body than the Committee of the Upper District, but not less vigorous. Like its fellow to the west, it appointed committees on licensing suits, and on correspondence, and named men to raise minute companies,[107]

---

[101] Feb. 5, 8, 1777; March 1.

[102] April 8, 13, 1776.

[103] Feb. 1, 3, 4, 8, 23, 1777.

[104] Committee of Sept. 12, 1775: *John Stull*, Charles Swearingen, *Andrew Rench*, Jonathan Hager, *John Sellars*, Col. Cresap, *James Smith*, John Rench, Ezekiel Cox, *Samuel Hughes*, *William Baird*, Joseph Smith, William Yates, Conrad Hogmire, *Christian Orendorf*, George Zwingley, Joseph Chaplain, *Col. James Beale*. Committee of Nov. 25, 1776: those italicised above and Peter Beall, Lodowick Young, David Schnebley, Christian Lantz, Joseph Sprigg, David Hughes, Dr. Hart, Michael Fackler, John Kerschner, Nicholas Smith.

[105] Scharf, Hist. of Md., II, 185.

[106] Its successor was not elected at the close of the year, and on Sept. 10, 1776, the late committee met, induced by the resolves of Congress and the necessity of the case.

[107] March 5, 1776. Many have not enrolled through ignorance. Give them another chance till April 11. Vide April 12, 1776.

and to hand about the articles of association in the different districts. As in the Upper District, the Tories, who reflected upon and upbraided in the most indecent manner those who enrolled,[108] "were forced to apologize." Those who spread false rumors,[109] "scandalous," and tending to injure the character of citizens and "create fears and jealousies in the people," were reprimanded. Those who sold salt at a price above that fixed by the Committee were summoned before it and ordered to refund the surplus.[110] Men who were charged with endeavoring to sow discord among the "well affected people"[111] or with advising people to lay down their arms,[112] or with absence from muster,[113] met with punishment, as they were guilty of offences of "high and dangerous nature" which "tended to disunite the inhabitants in their present opposition." There seem to have been fewer Tories in the Middle than in the Upper District, though here we find one who grossly insulted the Committee by a letter accusing them of being oppressors.[114] Another talked very disrespectfully of the Americans, ridiculing them and their warlike preparations, and asserted that "fifty British soldiers would drive out all the inhabitants of Frederick town."[115] Some, who were "suspected of unfriendliness," were compelled to give bond with approved security, or to go to gaol. Here, as in the Upper District, the costs are always borne by the Tories.[116]

---

[108] Oct. 2, 1775.

[109] Andrew Grim and Jacob Houser, said Messrs. Booth, Carey and Edelen, tried to blow up the powder magazines. Oct. 2, 16, 1775.

[110] Hoffman, Oct. 13, 1775, said his wife sold the salt in his absence and without his knowledge. Vide Dec. 12, 1775; June 18, 1776; July 16, 1776; July 2, 1776.

[111] Jan. 6, Feb. 19, March 4, 1776.

[112] Vide March 4, 5, April 1, 12, 1776.

[113] March 5, April 12, 22, 1776.

[114] Nathaniel Patterson, whose accomplices were John McCallister and John Kleinhoff. April 29, May 1, 9, 1776.

[115] June 6, 1776.

[116] *E. g.*, Dr. John Stevenson, John Stevenson, Jr., Capt. Hugh Scott, James Smith (iron-master), Joshua Testill Morgan, Charles

Frederick, as the most convenient inland town for that purpose, early became a place where prisoners were sent for safe keeping. Connolly and his companions were seemingly the first consigned to the care of the Frederick Committee,[117] and on the very day when the news of their capture reached the Convention,[118] the Committee resolved to build a strong log gaol in Frederick town, at least thirty feet long and twenty in breadth, of two stories, "the upper story being divided into three rooms with a stove in each room."[119]

At the door of the gaol, a small house should be built for the guard. The Convention proposed to build the prison on private property. This did not suit the plans of the Frederick Committee, who suggested that the "free school lot" be used as a site for this building, which might be of use to the public, "after our unhappy disputes are at an end."[120]

The Convention did not agree to this proposition, but erected the gaol on Second street, a few rods east of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank.[121] The building was completed by the beginning of June and found occupants awaiting it. On May 19, 13 Tory prisoners from North Carolina came and a constant guard of an officer and of

---

Connett, Joseph Clarke, July 2, 1776. Jacob Coventry, July 4, 6, 24, 1776. Joshua Testill, July 8, 16. George French relieved of fines for not enrolling by Convention, May 25, 1776. Proceedings of Conventions, p. 160. Jacob Geiger, Sept. 10, 1776. Thomas Tannerton suspected by Lower District Committee to be Moses Kirkland advertised for in Pa., but freed, when Dr. Houblie testified he thought he was a different man, July 23, 24, 1776.

[117] Dec. 8, 1775.

[118] Proceedings, p. 40.

[119] Rev. John Scott, of Somerset Co., was sent to Frederick as a Tory prisoner, Aug. 28, 1776. Proceedings of Conventions, p. 230. Vide Md. Arch., Coun. of Safety, II, 118, 328.

[120] Dec. 26, 27, 1775.

[121] After the war it was converted into a stable and part of it stood until 1846. The iron bolts fastening the logs together were said to have been made by Frank Mantz, a Tory blacksmith. Scharf, W. Md., I, 138.

men was set over them.[122] These were part of a body of prisoners sent for safekeeping northwards to Pennsylvania and Maryland. They were retained in Frederick at least until the end of the year, with the exception of six, who succeeded in escaping in September.

A second band of prisoners[123] was received on July 26, 1776, when 15 British officers taken at St. John's came with a letter from the Board of War at Philadelphia, stating that they might be admitted to parole, if they would give it, and, if not, they should be closely confined. Only three signed the parole then, but the other twelve soon became weary of confinement and followed on August 3. As they were allowed the "attendance of their servants and of the women and children belonging to them," their lot was not extremely hard.

When the officers came, the Committee suggested to the Convention that as many of the Tory prisoners had offered security for their good behavior, they might be given wider liberty. The Tory Gaol[124] is a "dreadful place, but the best we have, to be confined in and so crowded at present (being 27) that we fear it may be dangerous to their health." On August 28, the Convention allowed the prisoners in the Tory Gaol to be taken to the common gaol and walk in the yard. When the resolve of Convention[125] came to Frederick the Tory prisoners were removed to the common gaol. When cold weather came on, the Committee again recommended that the Tories be per-

---

[122] The same day the Committee wrote to the Convention to send money to pay the guard. The regulations provided that the rations for the Tories should not be inferior to those given the guard. June 6, 1776; vide July 2; Md. Arch., Coun. of Safety, I, 403, 405, 408, 445, 473, 480; II, 245, 295, 502.

[123] July 26, Aug. 3, 6, 13, 1776. These officers were sent to New Brunswick, N. J., for exchange in November. Md. Arch., Coun. of Safety, II, 456, 486, 502.

[124] V, Force Archives, I, 569; Md. Archives, Coun. of Safety, II, 117; Proceedings of Convention, p. 230, 232, 251, 257.

[125] Sept. 3, Oct. 14, 1776.

mitted to give bond for good behavior and that those who were dangerous be transferred to the Tory Gaol as a place of superior strength and preferable for winter. Though the Committee was thus merciful, it was not careless, and on three occasions [126] expressed disapproval of too great intimacy of non-associators with the prisoners of war. This might prove dangerous to the State and was forbidden. It might easily lead to an escape, like that of September 23, 1776, when seven Tories broke gaol at Frederick and escaped.[127]

The Upper and Lower Districts were discontented with the conservatism of the Convention and Council of Safety. It was otherwise in the Middle District. This Committee favored the policy of the Convention, that the "civil power" be supported in "the due execution of the laws, as far as consistent with the present plan of opposition." For the "maintenance of order and good government," the Committee recommended the people "to pay strict regard to the authority of civil magistrate in the just execution of law." They declare that the "duty and allegiance, enjoined by the oath necessary to be taken to constitute the magistrates, comformably to the laws of this province, are not inconsistent with our present plan of opposition to ministerial despotism." [128] There was no more patriotic place than Frederick, but the people there would not be the first to rush into a revolution.

It is true that the Committee desired the publication of the proceedings of Convention,[129] but this was only that the people might be informed of what their representatives did. Just after the Declaration of Independence, which

---

[126] Sept. 2 [vide Council of Safety (Feb. 12, 1777), III, 132]; Sept. 3; Oct. 24; Sept. 12, 1776. Philip Thomas wrote to Tilghman that many deserters were concealed in the Middle District. V, Force Archives, II, 298.

[127] V, Force Archives, II, 457. They were advertised for. Six of these were from North Carolina.

[128] Oct. 17, 1775. [129] March 19, 1776.

was published in Frederick during August,[130] a man came before the Committee [131] to obtain damages for injury done to his peach orchard. The unanimous answer was that he should apply to the civil magistrate, "which will doubtless take order therein and that this Committee, on every occasion, will support the civil power in the due execution of law."

Congress received equally steady support. When requested to have the preparations for the Flying Camp pushed, the Committee unanimously replied that it would, "and every militia captain and other member of this district ought to exert himself for the immediate equipment" of these Continental troops "with every necessary." In their zeal, they voted to pay the way to New York of several soldiers of the Third Virginia Regiment who had been left sick when the regiment passed through the town.

In the great expansion of our country to the westward, we are apt to forget that Western Maryland was the frontier in 1775. The patriots of that time and place, however, were not forgetful of that fact, and in July,[132] John Hanson, Jr., wrote to Peyton Randolph, President of the Continental Congress: "There is too much reason to believe that an expedition will be set on foot by the British and Indians in Canada against the western frontiers of this State, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Agents and allies of the King and Parliament, of Gen. Gage and Lord Dunmore, it is believed in this place, are now operating with

---

[130] Aug. 21, 23, 1776.

[131] It cared for some sick soldiers of the Continental Army and received payment from Congress therefor. V, Force Archives, II, 298; III, 1571.

[132] July 16, 1776. On Sept. 10, Philip Thomas was told to inform Convention that several deserters from Col. Smallwood's battalion are in this and the Upper District, and that sick soldiers were left in Frederick by the Virginia regiment. Same day voted to expedite company of volunteers raised in this district. Three companies of the Flying Camp were raised in the Lower District, five in the Middle District and three in the Upper District. Muster Rolls of Md. Troops, pp. 73-74.

the Delaware and Shawnese Indians in Ohio and bands in Kentucky and Canada, with a view to destroy our frontier towns and desolate our homes and firesides. We are determined to keep a vigilant eye on all such agents and emissaries, but it would be highly prudent to take early measures to supply the arsenal and barracks at Fredericktown with arms and ammunition, to enable the male population to defend all the inhabitants, in case the emergency should arise, in which it will become our solemn duty to act."[133] Hanson's surmises were true, but the plans were even more extensive than he imagined. Dunmore, driven from the main part of Virginia and sheltered by the British fleet at Norfolk, had planned a joint expedition with Dr. John Connolly, which was intended to cut the Colonial union in half, along the line of the Potomac. Connolly was a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and had been bred to the practice of physic, but his ambition to be a soldier led him to serve as a volunteer to Martinique and against the Western Indians in the French and Indian War. In a narrative of his experience, written some years after the close of the Revolution,[134] he states that, after the end of the former war, he explored the newly acquired territory, "visited the various tribes of native Americans, studied their different manners and customs and undertook the most toilsome marches with them through the extensive wilds of Canada and depended upon the precarious chace for my subsistence for months successively." This training fitted him for a "partisan officer." Settling at Pittsburgh, which was then claimed by Virginia as a part of West Augusta County, he became commander of militia there and served as major of colonial troops in the Indian War, which was decided by the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774.

Holding royalist sentiments, he tells us he prevented

[133] Scharf, W. Md., I, 136.

[134] Published in the Penna. Hist. Mag., Vol. XII, 310, 407; XIII, 61, 153, 281.

the choice of a Committee of Observation in West Augusta County and engaged "a formidable body of friends, at the risk of life and fortune, in support of the constitutional authority." According to his narrative, he also made secret loyalist treaties with the Indian tribes, while inducing the Virginians to believe that he was in favor of the Whig measures. He next planned to consult Dunmore in Norfolk about his future moves. Though somewhat detained by local patriots, he succeeded in his purpose[185] and a plan was concerted to have Connolly raise a body of troops in Canada and Western Virginia and an auxiliary band of Indians. These troops were to make a junction at Alexandria with Dunmore's troops, coming from the coast. During this time, the attention of the colonial army was to be occupied to the northward by the forces under General Howe.[186] General Gage was still commanding at Boston, and to him Connolly was sent by Dunmore, to gain the endorsement and authority of the British commander. The approval gained, Connolly left Boston on September 14 or 15 and rejoined Dunmore in the following month. The secrecy of the scheme was soon destroyed through the communication of the contents of a private letter written by Connolly to a friend near Pittsburgh and through information given the Virginia leaders by Connolly's servant, who escaped from the ship on the return voyage from Boston.[187] Ignorant of this fact, Connolly determined to start for Detroit, by the shortest way, through the Province of Maryland. His instructions and the commission as lieutenant-colonel given him by Dunmore on November 5, were "concealed in the sticks of his servant's mail pillion artfully contrived for that purpose." On November 13, with his servant and Dr. John Smith and Allan Cameron, he left Dunmore. The second of these three, a Scotchman, had resided some time in

[185] Arrived in Norfolk, July 25, 1775.
[186] The proposals of Connolly are found in Scharf's W. Md., I, 136.
[187] Md. Arch. Coun. of Safety, I, 93.

Charles County, Md., and being a Tory, had left that patriotic neighborhood for West Florida. Connolly induced him to turn back, with the promise of a surgeon's commission, and describes him as a man of "quick penetration, firm loyalty, and intimate acquaintance with the lower parts of Maryland." Cameron was also a Scotchman, had left his country on account of a duel, and had become a deputy Indian agent in South Carolina. Having suffered much abuse there for his unshaken loyalty and having gained some notoriety for a plan to incite the Creek and Cherokee Indians to fall on the colonists,[138] he was easily induced to join Connolly by the promise of a commission of lieutenant, and possibly of captain, and was valuable to his leader, through his acquaintance with the Indians.

They set out in a flat-bottomed schooner,[139] intending to proceed up the Potomac river to a point near Dr. Smith's house, on Port Tobacco Creek. Driven by a storm into St. Mary's river, they disembarked, and went forward on horseback. On the very border of the frontier, about five miles beyond Hagerstown, they stopped at a public house for the night of the 19th of November. The landlord knew Connolly, but supposed he was returning to his home in Pittsburgh. During the evening, however, Connolly tells us that a young man from Pittsburgh came to the tavern and then proceeded to Hagerstown. There he went to a "beerhouse" and "mixed with the officers of the militia men." In the conversation some one asked who the strangers were who had passed through the town that afternoon. The Pittsburgh man answered that one of them was Major Connolly of Pittsburgh. Two days before, word of Connolly's plans had come to the colonel of militia[140] there, and rejoicing at this opportunity, a party set out at once, broke into the room where the Tories were, about two o'clock in the morning, and

[138] Md. Arch. Coun. of Safety, I, 93.
[139] Scharf's W. Md., p. 137.
[140] Through the revealing of the private letter, says Connolly.

made them prisoners. Taken to Hagerstown, they were kept in separate houses and "suffered that kind of disturbance and abuse which might be expected from undisciplined soldiers and a clamorous rabble at such a crisis." When day came, the prisoners were brought before the Committee of Observation, who pronounced Connolly a "dangerous enemy to the colonies" from "certain papers produced to this committee and acknowledged to have been written by him"; while they found Smith and Cameron "guilty of many equivocations" and suspicious from being in Connolly's company. All three were to be sent to the Council of Safety for further trial.[141] Thus the danger was averted and the vigilance of the Western Marylanders had prevented the success of the Tory machinations.

The prisoners were taken to Frederick on the next day and were at once met by a colonel of militia, lately returned from Boston, who knew of Connolly's northern trip. This ended all hopes for release and vigilant examination of their baggage was ordered. Nothing was found on the first search, but, when Samuel Chase arrived in Frederick to preside at the prisoner's examination, a fresh search was directed by him. Dr. Smith said "they examined everything so strictly as to take our saddles to pieces and take out the stuffing and even rip open the soles of our boots."[142] The papers in the pillion sticks escaped detection and were destroyed by the servant; but, in Connolly's portfolio, a rough draft of his propositions was found. The Committee of Observation put the prisoners under separate guards as soon as they were received and ordered that no person speak to them, save in the presence of one

---

[141] Scharf, W. Md., I, 133. Connolly's account differs from this and is very much more favorable to himself. He represents that they were only sent to Frederick and by a small majority. The record says the action was unanimous.

[142] Scharf, W. Md., I, 137. Middle Dist. of Fredk. Co. Com. of Obs. Nov. 21, 22, 23.

of the Committee or by their permission. When the papers were found, copies of them were sent to the Convention of Virginia and Maryland and to Congress.[143] The Tories were kept in the house of the colonel of minute men under a constant guard. In addition to previous restrictions, they were forbidden the use of pen and ink, save in the presence of a member of the Committee,[144] and anything written by them was directed to be examined by one or more of the committee. Connolly, who becomes querulous at times in telling of the hardships of his captivity, admits that the prisoners had no reason to be dissatisfied with the lodging and diet they had in Frederick, but he complains bitterly of the "clamorous gabbling of this raw militia," as "eternal and noisy beyond conception." The guards[145] were ignorant and stupidly turbulent and gave nights "of entertainment to themselves and visitors and of tantalizing perturbation to me, whose heart was incessantly panting after other scenes and different opinions."

A negro girl who waited on the prisoners became their friend and brought them ink-horn and paper, which she left "between the bed and sacking bottom, unnoticed by the guard." With these, Connolly wrote letters to the garrisons in the west. It was decided that Dr. Smith should make an attempt to escape and take the letters to their destination. The prisoners had noticed "that, towards daylight, our guard, frequently, exhausted by their own noise and folly, were inclined to a momentary quiet and, as no centry was regularly relieved, but all were on duty at the same time," they concluded that an escape was possible.

This was accomplished in the nick of time. On Decem-

---

[143] Received by Convention on Dec. 8, 1775. Proceedings, p. 40.

[144] Com. of Observation, Nov. 29, Dec. 26. The Committee asks Congress for reimbursement for expenses incurred in guarding prisoners. Dec. 27, instructions are given to the guard.

[145] Changed every 24 hours.

ber 29, a letter from John Hancock,[146] president of Congress, was received, ordering the prisoners to be removed to Philadelphia. The Committee directed Dr. Adam Fisher[147] and ten men to escort them on the morrow. That very night, the prisoners unscrewed the lock and, while the guards were nodding, Smith slipt down stairs unobserved. Scarcely had they time to screw the lock on again when the guard entered, but seeing some of the prisoners in bed, concluded all were there, cried "all safe" and retired. When morning came Smith's escape was discovered and the others were loaded with "opprobrious epithets." Smith was recaptured by the Committee for the Upper District[148] and was brought to Philadelphia.[149] There he made a second unsuccessful attempt to escape and, after being removed to Baltimore, finally succeeded in a third attempt, in December, 1776. Cameron was retained as a prisoner until the winter of 1778, while Connolly was not

---

[146] IV, Force Archives, IV, 216. Letter was dated Dec. 8, and stated that Congress highly approved of the acts of the Frederick Committee.

[147] Connolly says the "lowest and most irrational of the inhabitants" with a common surgeon barber for a captain.

[148] IV, Force Archives, III, 479, Dec. 30. Letter of John Hanson to John Hancock. Expenses of maintaining prisoners was over £27. The jail was altogether insecure, so the Committee had to hire rooms and as the militia finally refused to guard the prisoners, a guard had to be hired.

[149] Smith was taken at Little Meadows. Samuel Hughes was then chairman of the Upper District Committee. He had six letters from Connolly (IV, Force Archives, III, 615 ff). Three of these were addressed to British commanders in the west, one to a Tory friend at Pittsburgh, one to his wife and one to an unknown person. From them we learn that Connolly wrote "in bed with two sentinels at the door, with hourly apprehensions of death," and that he hoped to have his wife with him in Frederick, but the Committee "altered their opinion after the man had horses saddled to go for you and the children." I am inclined to believe that Connolly invented this story to please his wife. He writes that "my guard consists of Germans, whose dissonant jargon of High Dutch is not only unintelligible to me, but also extremely disagreeable, by its cursed noise and harshness that it distracts my very soul." The letters are dated December 16.

released until July, 1780, when he was exchanged for Lt.-Col. Ramsay.

Smith gives a curious account of his capture, in a narrative of his adventures,[180] published in 1784, but which is not very reliable. He says on their journey westward, they came to Frederick on a muster day and were ordered to appear the next morning before the Committee. They did not do so, but suddenly and secretly left the town. He calls the guard which captured him "unfeeling German scoundrels, upon whose brows are written assassination, murder and death." On the way to Frederick, they were preceded by drum and fife, playing the rogue's march. In that town they were dragged before "a committee which consisted of a tailor, a leather breeches maker, a shoemaker, a gingerbread maker, a butcher, and two tavern keepers. The majority were Germans and I was subjected to a very remarkable hearing, as follows:

"One said 'You infernal rascal, how darsht you make an exshkape from this honorable committee?' 'Der fluchter Dyvel,' cried another, 'how can you shtand so shtyff for king Shorsh akainst dis koontry.' 'Sacrament,' yelled another, 'dis committee will let Shorsh know how to behave himself,' and the butcher exclaimed, 'I would kill all the English tieves, as soon as ich would kill an ox or a cow.'"

It is needless to remark that this story doubtless has a basis of truth, but is an evident caricature.

Dunmore was driven from Virginia and the West was left to fall before George Rogers Clark. There was no other who could have raised the Western Loyalists and Indians as Connolly might have done. The vigilance of the Western Maryland patriots had caused the failure of a plan which seemed full of danger for the colonial cause.

One of the great services of Western Maryland in the Revolution was rendered as a magazine of supplies. In

[180] "A tour through the U. S. of America," by J. D. F. Smyth.

August, 1775, a Committee of the Provincial Convention reported that of the twelve gun shops in the State, nine were in Frederick County.[151] One of these was in Georgetown, four were in Frederick town, and one was near it, two were in Hagerstown and one was in Jerusalemtown. Each of these was able to complete 20 muskets per month, and in these shops, doubtless, Charles Beatty placed the contracts for the 650 "good substantial, proved muskets"[152] which the Council of Safety authorized him to procure.

On December 28, 1775, the Convention appointed Charles Beatty, James Johnson and John Hanson, Jr., a committee to purchase ground, not over one-half acre, in Frederick town, and to erect thereon a gunlock factory. £1200, common money, were appropriated therefor, and the commissioners were requested to be "as frugal of the public money as may be."[153] The factory was erected and used for a time, but apparently was not wholly a success and it was sold in 1778. Bullets, gunflints, bullet pouches, powder horns, all seem to have been procured from the stores of Frederick town. Frederick being an inland town, it was a good depot for supplies, and we find that in April, 1777, a large quantity of gunpowder[154] was sent thither from Baltimore and "placed in the market house until magazines can be built." Other supplies were kept at this magazine, whence six trumpets were taken for the use of the Continental Horse.[154a]

Guns were not the only munitions of war supplied by Western Maryland. A large powder magazine[155] was kept

[151] Council of Safety, I, p. 65; IV, 524, 530, 531, 546.

[152] Council of Safety, I, 75, 81; IV, 417.

[153] V, Force Archives, III, 1147, shows the difficulty the managers of the gunlock factory had in getting money.

[154] Council of Safety, III, 209, 211, 216, 295. More powder was sent in June. III, 297. [154a] Council of Safety, III, 261.

[155] Proceedings Convention, p. 62; vide 205; Land Records Frederick, B. D. No. 2, folio 471; Act of 1778, ch. 4; Centennial Celebration at Frederick, p. 46. Land occupied in 1876 by Groshon's coal yard, Tyson's warehouse and Sifford's marble works.

in Frederick town and saltpetre works were carried on in the Lower and Middle Districts. The first cannon said to have been cast in this country were made at the foundry of Col. Daniel Hughes,[156] on the Potomac river one mile above Georgetown. A portion of the building yet remained in 1880, while broken fragments of cannon were still to be found in the stream of water flowing at the base of the building.[156a] John Yost, of Georgetown, is also said to have cast cannon, and Hughes with his brother James and Samuel cast others at the Antietam Iron Works in Washington County. As early as February, 1776, the Council of Safety was sending men to Antietam to prove the cannon manufactured there.[157] Hughes had a contract with the Provincial authorities to cast 20 nine-pounders and 50 eighteen-pounders. Another most important foundry for shells and cannon was the Catoctin Iron Furnace, owned by James, Thomas, and Baker Johnson, a trio of notable brothers. Some of their cannon were said to have been used at the siege of Yorktown.

The value of the Catoctin Furnace to the Province was seen as early as July, 1776, when the Council of Safety wrote to James Johnson asking him to furnish them with 20 four-pound cannon, 20 three-pound cannon, 20 two-pound cannon, and forty swivels, as well as 200 iron pots to supply the place of camp kettles, some to contain 4 and others 2 gallons, with bales or handles. So satisfactory was Johnson's answer, that the Council increased the size of the contract.[158]

---

[156] Scharf's W. Md., I, 135. Cannon for the frigate built in Baltimore in 1777 were cast by the Hughes foundry. Council of Safety, III, 247.

[156a] Vide Council of Safety, I, 333, 424; IV, 382, 515, 516, 530; Proceedings of Convention, p. 59.

[157] Council of Safety, I, 167, 175, 180, 187, 288; IV, 386. Jacob Schley was directed to furnish ten large rifles carrying a 4 oz. ball on April 19, 1776. Council of Safety, I, 353. Jacob Razor was directed to deliver 12 musquets a month till 100 be supplied at Frederick. Council of Safety, III, 376.

[158] Council of Safety, II, 55, 92, 114.

The minutes of the Council of Safety are filled with reference to military supplies ordered, sent for and supplied by Western Maryland. Virginia, as well as Maryland, made use of Frederick's gunshops. Blankets also were furnished in quantities, as well as broadcloth for the soldiers' clothing.[159] To encourage the production of cloth, grants were made by the Council of Safety to Alexander McFadon, of Georgetown,[160] to enable him to carry on a linen manufactory, to Michael Cochinderfer[159] for a stocking manufactory, and to Robert Wood for a sheeting mill. In each case manufactured goods were to be returned to the Council in value equal to the grant. Not only cloth manufacturers were encouraged, but Jacob Myers also received a grant towards a wire factory.[162]

In fact, Frederick County was the manufacturing part of the State and believed that "especial encouragement should be given to country manufactures."[163] So far went this principle that when the paper mill was built near Frederick town, the Committee of Observation recommended all to "save their old linen and woolen rags and prefer paper made here to any foreign manufacture." Frederick was also a great granary and storehouse of provisions.[163a]

With the spring of 1777 came permanent government for Western Maryland, as for the rest of the State. The Committee of Observation passed away, the regularly constituted officers and courts took its place. The best blood

---

[159] Vide Council of Safety, I, 102, 234, 245, 300, 400, 444; II, 8, 141, 151, 188, 271, 327. So beef cattle, Council of Safety, III, 384.

[160] Council of Safety, I, 20, 190.

[161] Council of Safety, I, 473; II, 134.

[162] Proceedings of Convention, p. 266.

[163] June 21, 1775; IV, Force Archives, II, 1044. On Nov. 27, 1777, Council of Safety (III, 426) ordered clothing to be collected for the State's quota in the army and that what was obtained in Western Maryland should be brought to Frederick town. May 2, 1778, 100 wagons for North Carolina service were passed in the County Council of Safety, IV, 66.

[163a] Council of Safety IV, 187.

of the region was in the armies, and the records of the Orphan's courts show long lists of those wounded, disabled and slain in the conflicts with the British forces.[184] Sudden alarms like the Brandywine campaign in the autumn of 1777 brought out the militia with arms, if they could be secured, but if not, then without arms, to relieve other militia men already on duty.[184a]

In the troublous days [185] which marked the beginning of 1777, the whole Western Maryland militia were called out for Continental service, and Thomas Johnson writes that he learns that "Washington militia turn out well. J. Johnson's and Bruce's Battalions (from Frederick County) do us honor. B. Johnson's not so much" and the "Montgomery militia muster very thin." John Stull, commander of the Washington County men, speaks of them as "spirited in the defence of liberty." [185a]

When three thousand troops were called for from Maryland in March, 1778, Frederick's quota was 309, more than one-tenth of the whole number and more than any other county. In addition to this, 156 men were summoned from Montgomery and 120 from Washington County.[186] When Cornwallis advanced into Virginia in 1781, and Lafayette retreated before him, 500 militia were summoned from Frederick County and 250 from Montgomery County to go to Lafayette's aid, that he might make head against

---

[184] Centennial of Frederick Co., p. 46. Numerous orders were passed by the Frederick Co. Court appropriating money for the support of the wives and children of soldiers in the Maryland line. Scharf, W. Md., I, 144; Muster Rolls, 630, 632. For difficulty in obtaining recruits, see Council of Safety, IV, 26.

[184a] Council of Safety, III, 368, 386, 467. Rioting in Baltimore caused the militia of Frederick to be called out in October, 1777. Council of Safety, III, 389, 391.

[185] Council of Safety, III, 15. There was trouble about the commissions for officers in the B. Johnson's Linganore Battalion. III, 236.

[185a] Council of Safety, III, 42.

[186] Scharf's Md., II, 344; Muster Rolls, 294, 314, 320, 324, 328. Recruits of 1780 are given in Muster Rolls, pp. 334, 341, 344, 346.

the British.[167] In that same expedition against Cornwallis, which was to end at Yorktown so gloriously for the American arms, Frederick County not only sent its citizens as volunteers, but also provided the allied armies with much needed stores of cattle and flour.[168]

No hostile force reached Frederick; but, in 1777, the Legislature ordered the erection of barracks there for the accommodation of two battalions.[169] The year before, the Committee of Observation had asked that a post be established at that point and this desire would now be gratified. These buildings were constructed on the eminence at the south end of the town, which bears the local name of Hallerstown hill, and long after the war remained unused, save when some militia encampment made the place gay for a few days. During the Civil War, the barracks became hospitals filled with the sick and wounded soldiers of both armies. At the close of the war, the State devoted the buildings and grounds to the use of the newly established Maryland School for the Deaf. Part of the buildings have been torn down to give place to more modern and convenient structures; but a portion still remains, a relic of the days when Frederick was a frontier town.[169a]

Baylor's continental cavalry [170] wintered at Frederick and Hagerstown in 1778 and 1779. The frontier post was soon made a prison. We have seen that prisoners were sent to Frederick early in the war. In April, 1777, Frederick was suggested to Gov. Johnson as "the most proper place for those now in Maryland of the Scotch regiment," and in

---

[167] Scharf, W. Md., I, 144; Md. II, 450.

[168] Scharf, Md., II, 455, 461; Muster Rolls, 652.

[169] Act of 1777, ch. 10. On June 27, Abraham Faw contracted to build the barracks for 8 per cent of the cost and was given £1500 currency. On Nov. 20, he was given £1000 more. Council of Safety, III, 300, 418.

[169a] Trouble from Indians was feared in Western Maryland in 1778. Council of Safety, IV, 80, 87, 88. So in April, 1779, Council of Safety, IV, 365.

[170] Scharf's Md., II, 340.

May, £300 were appropriated for the subsistence of prisoners of Frederick.[170a]

After the erection of the barracks, large numbers of Hessians, captured at Saratoga and elsewhere, were sent to Frederick and the Maryland part of the German regiment, Captain Brown's company of matrosses, and Col. Crockett's battalion of Virginia troops were ordered to act as their guards.[171] As early as May, 1777, prisoners were sent to Hagerstown rather than to Frederick, "where there's already some sort of provision," since "great part of our powder is at the latter place."[171a]

Before the barracks were completed, in December, 1777, Col. Beatty, who commanded the forces in the town, received 100 prisoners, whom he was compelled to confine temporarily in the jail. Late on the afternoon of Christmas day[172] they set fire to the jail and made an attempt to escape. Beatty ordered every man to arm himself as quickly as possible and repair to the jail-yard. The jailer opened the gate and about one-third of the prisoners attempted to rush out, but their ardor was quelled with the butt end of muskets. After the fire was extinguished, the prisoners were removed to the Tory jail.

Though prisoners were in Frederick during the entire war, the greatest number arrived after Cornwallis's surrender.[173] Two Hessian regiments and the Bayreuth Yag-

---

[170a] Council of Safety, III, 213, 248.

[171] Centennial of Fredk., p. 47. Address of the Hon. Jas. McSherry. Council of Safety, III, 450, 490, 506.

[171a] Council of Safety, III, 246, 384.

[172] Scharf, W. Md., I, 141. In Feb., 1777, owing to the alarm in Baltimore, the prisoners there were sent to Frederick and thence in August they were transferred to Sharpsburg. Scharf, W. Md., I, 141; Council of Safety, III, 346, 407. Certain Carolina prisoners sent to Frederick in 1777 were allowed to go at large within three miles of the town. Council of Safety, III, 336.

[173] In Sept., 1777, four prisoners were sent to Frederick to be kept in the "Logg jail, commonly called the Tory jail." Council of Safety, III, 368 (but see p. 380). An appropriation was made in July, 1777, to pay for removal of prisoners from Frederick to

ers were sent to Frederick at once, while the other Hessians, who were first sent to Winchester, Va., were soon transferred thither. "On the march through Maryland, the German settlers showed them much kindness and German speech and friendly hospitality gave them much comfort." Their food, too, improved, "though during the ensuing winter provisions ran short" and complaints were made of "the bad food and the utter want of clothing." During the summer of 1782, the prisoners were more comfortable. Many were allowed to work on the neighboring farms, married daughters of the German settlers, ransomed themselves for about 80 Spanish milled dollars apiece, and remained in Frederick County.[174] If they could not raise the necessary amount for ransom, the Americans frequently advanced the money and kept the Hessians as "redemptioners." Others of the prisoners died, deserted, or enlisted in the American armies, so that the regiments became greatly reduced. In September, 1782, 300 English prisoners from Cornwallis's army came from Winchester to Frederick, escorted by an American volunteer corps made up of various nationalities, including 40 Anspach-Bayreuth soldiers, who had been released on joining the American army.

The little Mountain City was truly cosmopolitan during that year. In addition to English, German and American troops, it was the station for some time of the French legion commanded by the Marquis la Rouerie.[175] His tribute to the State and town was most flattering. Writ-

Burlington. Council of Safety, III, 304; vide 467, 468; IV, 238. Eelking's German Allied troops in the North American War of Independence. As early as Feb. 1778, Col. Beatty suggested that some of the prisoners might be permitted to work for the inhabitants. Council of Safety, III, 490, 491.

[174] Between 1820 and 1840, there died in Frederick County no fewer than 15 foreign German allied troops. They made good citizens and their descendants were, for the most part, Union men during the Civil War.

[175] Centennial of Frederick, p. 48. This was Armand, the famous Chouan hero in the Vendée.

ing to Governor Paca, on December 28, 1782, he expressed the thanks of himself and his soldiers "for the friendly dispositions and behaviour of the Marylanders towards us. The town of Frederick, in which we have made the longest station, has more particularly evidenced to us the worthy and high character of that country. Permit me to add here that, where people are sensible, as these, of the rights of military men to their attention and care, they do deserve having respectable troops as the Maryland line, and do create in others wishes for the opportunity to serve them."

The barracks at Frederick town were not sufficient to hold all the prisoners, and so, on December 16, 1777, Joseph Nourse, of the War Office, from York, Penn., wrote to Col. Moses Rawlings, asking that he examine Fort Frederick and report as to its condition, accommodations, etc., as Congress thought of sending prisoners of war there. Rawlings acted with promptness and found the old colonial fort[178] in such condition that it could easily be put in order for the desired object. As the country about the fort was thickly settled, a "pretty strong guard was found necessary." The Assembly resolved to repair the barracks and work was at once begun. Two years later, Pickering writes to Rawlings stating that it is impossible to send prisoners to Fort Frederick for want of a guard. If Maryland will provide a standing guard there, the Continental authorities will obtain an escort guard from Pennsylvania and send prisoners there.

Two months later, on December 28, a letter was sent to

[178] Council of Safety, III, 439, 443, 445, 450, 451, 453, 487, 506, 545, 551, 555; IV, 148, 202, 336, 520, 524, 542, 546. On Feb. 23, 1778, the Council ordered the guard in Frederick to consist of one company of militia, consisting of 60 non-commissioned officers and men, and in Washington County to consist of one company of fifty non-commissioned officers and men for each 150 prisoners. The guards should serve for two months. Council of Safety, III, 516, 517, 536. Through difficulty in obtaining proper guard there were numerous escapes. Council of Safety, III, 518, 530. Capt. John Kerschner's Company acted as guards in 1778. Muster Rolls, p. 328.

Rawlings which affords quite an insight into the keeping of the prisoners. "We wish you would let out as many as you think will behave with propriety, in order to save public provisions, for you will observe as a rule that no prisoner employed by a private person is allowed to draw rations. But if you perceive any desertions or any capital inconvenience from their being out of the garrison you will call them in, that no loss that prudence will prevent may arise to the public by lessening the means of redeeming our own subjects." [178a]

In the next year, on October 17, the Continental war office asks Rawlings to "call in all the prisoners in the neighborhood of your post or its dependencies and, as the practice of letting them out to farmers and suffering them to go at large is attended with great mischiefs, you will in future keep them in close confinement." Consequently the prisoners were variously employed within the fort, "daubing and underpinning the barracks, cleaning and repairing the well, etc., and with great leniency, they were paid for executing these tasks. After Cornwallis's surrender with the plethora of prisoners thus in our hands, a large number of them were ordered to Fort Frederick. On October 26, 1781, the Light Infantry, the 17th, 33d, 71st and 80th Regiments of the line, the Prince Hereditary Regiment, de Bose Yagers, the British Legion, and North Carolina Volunteers were sent thither. Field officers were allowed three enlisted men as servants, captains two, and other proper warranted officers one. I have found no record of the life of these prisoners at the old fort." [178b]

While kind to prisoners, the Frederick County people were ever severe towards their fellow-citizens who clung to their allegiance to Great Britain. It is true that the judgments of outlawry for treason pronounced on the

[178a] See also Council of Safety, IV, 348, 363.

[178b] See Am. Hist. Reg., II, pp. 862-65, article on Fort Frederick by Judge Henry Stockbridge.

Dulaneys, the Episcopal clergy and other prominent citizens of the county[177] came from the General Court at Annapolis and the confiscation act of 1780,[178] whereby so much of the land of Frederick County found new owners, was passed by the Legislature of the whole State, but the local bodies were no less severe. Heavy fines were imposed on those who drank the "health of King George and damnation to Gen. Washington and the Congress of the United States," and who said they wished "all persons who went about warning the people on the militia duty, might be hanged not by necks but by the heels." The most famous proceeding against Tories was taken in 1781. In that year there was a second plan of the British to cut the colonies in half. Cornwallis was to march inland from the Chesapeake and was to be met by enrolled bodies of Tories, whose help would enable him to cut off the South from the North.[179] The tale which has come to us is that this far-reaching scheme failed; because, like the earlier one of Connolly, the plot was discovered in Frederick County. A disguised British officer was to meet a Tory messenger at a fixed place, to put him in possession of all of the details of the plan. The watchfulness of the Americans prevented the officer from fulfilling his part of the agreement, while the Tory's papers fell into their hands. These revealed the plot and the names of the prominent conspirators and they were accordingly arrested. On July 25, seven of the accused[180] were brought to trial at Frederick before a court consisting of Alexander Contee Hanson, afterwards Chancellor of the State, Col. James Johnson and Upton Sheredine. The defendants were found guilty of high treason in "enlisting men for the service of the king of Great Britain and administering an oath to them to bear true allegiance to the said king and

[177] Scharf, W. Md., I, 143.
[178] Act of 1780, ch. 45.
[179] Scharf, W. Md., I, 142.
[180] Peter Sueman, Nicholas Andrews, John George Graves, Yost Pleckler, Adam Graves, Henry Shett, Caspar Fritchie.

to obey his officers when called on." We can imagine the crowd in and about the court room when the defendants were declared guilty[181] of the crime of doing what even the judges themselves would have done ten years before, and we are sure that the excited assemblage was hushed to awe-struck silence when the sentence was pronounced. Turning to the prisoners and calling each by name, Judge Hanson told them not to consider the proceedings a "solemn mockery," nor to look for a pardon. They had been convicted "upon the fullest and clearest testimony." "Had it pleased heaven to permit the full execution of your unnatural designs, the miseries to be experienced by your devoted country would have been dreadful even in the contemplation. The ends of public justice, the dictates of policy and the feelings of humanity all require that you should exhibit an awful example to your fellow-subjects and the dignity of the State, with everything that can interest the heart of man, calls aloud for your punishment."

Then, after telling them to make their peace with God, he uttered the terrible words: "You shall be carried to the gaol of Frederick town and be hanged therein; you shall be cut down to the earth alive and your entrails shall be taken out and burnt while your are yet alive, your heads shall be cut off, your body shall be divided into four parts and your heads and quarters shall be placed where his excellency the Governor shall appoint. So the Lord have mercy upon your poor souls." Four were pardoned, the other three suffered the full vigor of the law. The tribunal which tried these was a special court of oyer and terminer, called to try Tories.[182] Many others were fined and imprisoned. A month after the trial, on August 17, 1781, a

[181] There was a jury trial.

[182] Other persons were convicted of the lesser crimes of persuading a man to return to and acknowledge dependence to the crown of Great Britain; of dissuading a man from supporting the independence of the United States, and of affirming that the King has power over this State.

meeting[183] of the citizens was called to determine what should be done with three men,[184] who refused to take the new paper money. They were excused on apologizing, and promising for the future to receive paper money at par with silver and gold; but, that there might be no mistake as to the attitude of the county, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That we will exert our utmost endeavors in supporting the credit and circulation of the said new paper money at par and we will punish, by Tarring and Feathering, and expulsion from the county, any person who shall hereafter be so hardy as to act contrary" to these resolves. The purpose here was commendable, the proposition disgraceful. This resolve is the one blot on the revolutionary history of Frederick County, and it is to be hoped that its lawless intention never was carried out. Every other act of the Frederick County men was done decently and in order.

At last the war ended. In March, 1783, the first news of the peace came to Frederick town. There was great rejoicing among the citizens that the long struggle was over, among the prisoners that they soon would be released. On April 22, General Lincoln,[185] who was commanding in Frederick at the time, made official proclamation of peace, and a patriotic demonstration of a day and a night followed. The fireworks for the night's display were prepared by a Bayreuth captain and his men, while the German musicians played at the ball given in honor of the occasion. There was general fraternizing and many of the German officers were guests at all the festivities. The only shadow on the sun of joy was that an excitable French captain had his men charge the prisoners who cheered for King George. In this unfortunate occurrence, four German soldiers were mortally wounded.

---

[183] Col. Thos. Price in the chair. Scharf, W. Md., I, 144.
[184] A previous meeting on the subject had been held on Aug. 7.
[185] Eelking, op. cit.

Throughout the county there was rejoicing. At Israel's Creek,[186] after listening to "an excellent sermon much to the purpose," the people enjoyed a most elegant entertainment, "drank thirteen toasts, fired a salute of thirteen platoons, and gave thirteen cheers. The evening saw an illumination and bonfires and the whole was concluded with propriety and decorum." In May, the German prisoners were released and one of them put down in his diary, "that the people, and especially the women, were very sorry to bid them good bye."

The quiet mountain town and the rich country around it, the western settlements in the Alleghanies, the more level plains of Montgomery, saw no more of martial array nor heard any more rumors of war for nearly eighty years. They had done nobly in their country's cause, they had been steadfast in the struggle for independence, they had believed in the triumph of the new nation and they had their reward. In considering the history of a war, we often think too exclusively of the armies in the field and forget the people from whom the army was recruited and by whose support it was maintained. But in whatever line of patriotic service we test the conduct of Western Maryland during the Revolution, the whole country has reason to be grateful for vigilant performance of duty.

---

[186] Scharf, W. Md. I, 145.